1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[322 552] show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the talo foods for feasts are named after their makers.

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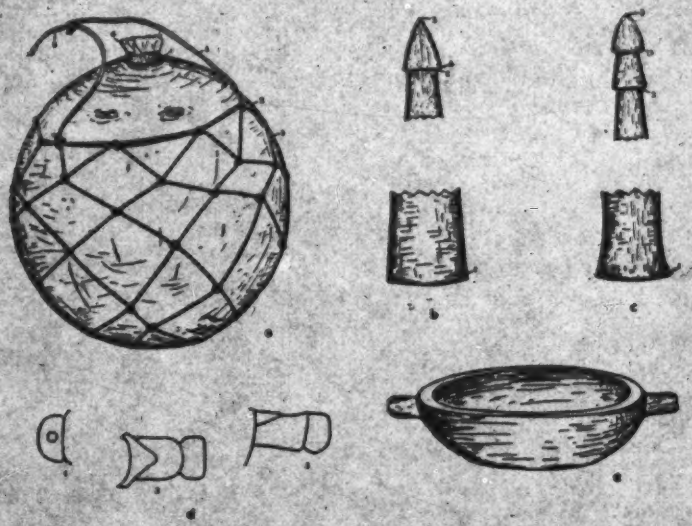

FIGURE 13.—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*wowongi*) (C8052): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord encloses shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; 6, cork (*momono*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *b*, talo pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood (C8050): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¼ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¾ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¾ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1⅛ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *c*, talo mixer (*yeu*) of *ngangie* wood (C8051): weight 3¾ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1⅝ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (2) of second truncated cone 1⅛ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, variant lugs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left lug, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¾ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ½ inch in diameter, runs through lug, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right lug of same bowl; lug, 1¾ inches wide and 1⅝ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*kumete*) of *puapua* wood (C8139): greatest diameter 14¾ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4¾ inches; lugs plain, 2 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

[831]

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Bowl Name	Longest Diameter	Shortest Diameter	Depth	Remarks
—(1)	28"	15¾"	7"	No lugs.
—(2)	17"	11"	4"	Right lug plain, bored with hole to facilitate hanging. Left lug conventional phallic symbol. (See fig.13*d*).
Pilato	6' 7"	2'	12¾"	Each lug 9" long and carved into realistic phallus. Bowl holds 1000 talo corms. Two food mixers accompanying this bowl are of ngangie wood, each 23½" long and 2½" diameter at pounding base.
Palemuimui	4' 2"	1' 9"	12"	Lugs plain, 11½" long and 3" diameter in cross section. Bottom shaped like a turtle back (tua womu) and propped with stones when in use. Holds 400 corms.
Elia	6' 4"	1' 3"	10¾"	Lugs plain, 11" long, 4" by 2" in cross section. Turtle-backed. Holds 1000 corms.

Large coconut shells in which to cook talo are set aside whenever they are available. The cook always tells a person about to open a large coconut to crack it with care and put aside the shell when he has drunk the liquid and scooped out the flesh. Shells are thrown away after being used once as cooking utensils.

PLAITING

Plaited articles of coconut leaf or pandanus material are still in common use in Pukapuka. Among these articles are plaited roof sheets and wall screens, floor and sleeping mats, and articles used for transporting, storing, and serving foods. Formerly plaited articles were used also for everyday and ceremonial dress.

In the following brief description of Pukapukan plaited articles, the terminology used is that established by Buck (27, pp. 164-168).

Pandanus Material

Pandanus trees are not cultivated to provide material for mat making. Plaiting material prepared from the leaves (*lau*) of the *wala* variety is termed *lito*, and from the *yulu* variety, *lawulu*.

The method of preparing *lito* material is as follows:

A woman collects green pandanus leaves from trees in the reserves and brings them back to the village. While the fire she has made of dry coconut midribs and butts is burning, she takes each leaf and slices off (today with a knife, formerly with a sharp

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602 The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this
835 chant that his love for his *mate atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai matenga* (incest).

No reference to *mate atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

182 The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people.
602 Among the younger generations, several *mate atua* have married:

588 In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being
177 secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *mate atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

602 No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

842 Conception is known as *te uahatitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te mahalihinga* or *te ikonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iko* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te nene ko iko ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

842 Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given
831 elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female
753 secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being
833 pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

842 The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

844 sequences enumerated that would follow if this blood came into contact with the clothes of attendants.

Care of the Mother

The delivery completed, one or more attendants take care of the mother. The others look after the child. The mother's head was formerly covered with a piece of *welo* bark as soon as the child was born, in order to prevent her hair from falling out, a precaution not adopted today.

The mother's abdomen is massaged by her husband or other male attendant, who presses out the blood. Then the mother stands and walks to the beach supported by attendants. No portion of the beach is reserved for use in confinement. The mother wades into the shallow water, sits down, and expresses blood by exerting downward pressure on her abdomen. She remains only a few minutes in the sea, and then returns to the house, seating herself on coconut husks arranged to provide a comfortable seat. Attendants apply pads of coconut fibers, which are kept in position by a strip of *lauvilu* fiber, called for this purpose *tu*, passing first round the waist, then down over the pads between the legs, to be tied in the middle of the back. For the mother's comfort and support, a maternity band (*pale manavu*) is passed round the abdomen and tied tightly at the back. This is generally not applied until the second day after delivery. It is not made in advance of the confinement, but is plaited by a female relative of the mother soon after delivery.

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The mother sits with her legs folded under her, her knees propped up about 4 inches with coconut husks. This is believed to ease the flow of blood. With her arms tightly folded under her breasts, she presses upwards to hasten the flow of milk. In this position, called *kokouvi* (to be cuddled up), the mother sits and sleeps for five nights and five days. She may lean back against a wall post or the house frame, but she may not lie down or release her tight hold on her breasts. She is allowed to stand and leave the house for the purposes of evacuation, but must continue to hold her breasts tightly. There is no prescribed place for her to evacuate; the blood in the feces is not considered tapu. At the end of the five night period (*lima po*) the milk will have begun to flow, and the mother may release her arms (*wuke na keke*, expose the armpits). She takes up plaiting and other sedentary activities, not fully resuming active work until ten or more days have passed.

Care of Infant

844 831 192

As soon as its cord is cut, those present inquire as to the sex of the newborn child, "E tama wea te tama nei?" (What child is this child?), and the attendant announces, "E ule (e wu) te tama nei" (This child is a penis, or a vagina). The terms *ule* and *wu* to denote the sex of the child were formerly commonly used; a father, asked the sexes of his children, might reply: "I have two *ule* (sons) in my family, and three *wu* (daughters)."

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The child is taken to the sea and washed. Then it is taken inside the house, rubbed with oil and wrapped (*laulango*) in soft pandanus mats. It is immediately fed with coconut cream (*lolo*) in order to loosen its bowels. Later it is placed beside the mother. For at least two days the child is fed by women of the house on coconut cream whenever it cries. When the mother's milk (*yuo wu*) comes, the child is immediately given the breast (*uvo wu*). Should the milk not flow by the second day, the child is fed on *lolo* until it does flow. Informants could recall no case where milk did not come by the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmacma, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the institutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia; nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

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833 836 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *uia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*uia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached 837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed 833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *uia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked 837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of 522 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to ule ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this witticism.

831 Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions (*vale uwa*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis.
833 Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia ʻia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kolokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nau*, *uetau*, *koupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*uoi ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uoinga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku hakalo*) to tame her spirit (*wakolata i tana mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the wakapaca tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tinea* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayu* bush or *kotawa* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.

Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excellence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

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is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land taro cultivation without irrigation is common to both

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

831 [For wealth of sexual symbolism and references in the chants, see pp. 91-117, 123, 132-137, category 539 or 116 --analyst].

539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He spits out the uncrossed wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immediately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record detailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being cleaned. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults, whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-outrigger canoe goes past. When asked who is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Ohani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Ohani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Ohani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practices of the de-